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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Economic and environmental questions: reports of subsidiary bodies, conferences and related questions

Report of the Secretary-General

SUMMARY

In the context of its deliberations on the report of the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo from 5 to 13 September 1994, the General Assembly adopted resolution 49/127, entitled "International migration and development", in which it requested the Secretary-General "to prepare, in consultation with all States and relevant international and regional organizations, a report on international migration and development, including aspects related to objectives and modalities for the convening of a United Nations conference on international migration and development, to be submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its substantive session of 1995 for discussion." The present report has been prepared in response to that request.

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I. MIGRATION TRENDS AND POLICIES: AN OVERVIEW[1]

1. International migration is widely recognized as an intrinsic part of the development process. During the nineteenth century, when population growth rates at the world level were relatively low, countries and territories in need of labour resorted to migration in order to satisfy such needs. In some cases, people were moved forcibly from one part of the world to another to satisfy existing labour demands. In others, the allure of better opportunities abroad led to the voluntary movement of millions of people. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, intercontinental migration reached massive proportions; the First World War, however, largely stopped the major flows. The world depression that marked the interwar years had a dampening effect on most international migration flows. The Second World War, which itself involved major forced movements of people, set the stage for a resurgence of international migration. Thus, the aftermath of the war witnessed the resettlement of large numbers of refugees and displaced persons both overseas and in Europe and, as reconstruction led to economic expansion in the 1950s and 1960s, many of the market economies of Europe[2] resorted to foreign labour. The process of decolonization that began after the war also gave rise to significant migration flows, not only because of the repatriation of all those involved in colonial administration but also because the establishment of certain newly independent States involved major population exchanges as, for instance, between India and Pakistan. During most of the 1960s, the labour demand in the expanding market economies of Europe was so strong that not only were the repatriation flows generated by decolonization accommodated but, in addition, the organized recruitment of workers abroad continued. However, the oil-price shock of 1973-1974 and the recession that ensued were largely responsible for bringing to an end the recruitment of foreign workers by the labour-importing countries of Europe.

2. Just as labour migration to Europe waned, that directed to the oil-producing countries of Western Asia increased as rising oil revenues allowed those countries to embark on development projects whose labour demands could not be met by the native population. Thus, between 1975 and 1985, the total migrant population in the member States of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) increased from 1.9 to 5.8 million persons, and that in the whole of Western Asia and Northern Africa rose from 7.4 million to 13.4 million.[3] In relative terms, therefore, the migrant population in the GCC countries tripled during 1975-1985. In contrast, during the same period the migrant stock in all the market-economy countries of Europe rose by 22 per cent, rising from 17 million to 20.7 million (table 1). Such increases were largely brought about by migration for family reunification since, after the cessation of labour migration, most European receiving countries relaxed their regulations for the admission of the immediate relatives of the migrant workers who decided to stay. Because most migrant workers were men, family reunification led to increasing intakes of migrant women whose proportion among the migrant stock in European countries increased.

3. Family reunification has also been one of the major reasons for the admission of immigrants to the traditional countries of immigration (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States), whose migrant stock increased from 18.2 million in 1975 to 24.1 million in 1985, when women constituted 52.6 per cent of the total. Refugee resettlement, which in the United States alone involved over half a million refugees granted permanent resident status during 1978-1984, also contributed to such an increase.[4]

4. During 1975-1985, the migrant stock in other regions of the world increased only moderately. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the number of migrants

increased from 5.7 million to 6.5 million; in sub-Saharan Africa that number rose from 10.3 million to 11.3 million; and in Asia (excluding Western Asia) the migrant population increased from 23.3 million to 27.0 million, largely as a result of the outflow of refugees from Afghanistan.[5] At the world level, there were an estimated 106 million migrants in 1985, 47 per cent of whom were women.

5. Since 1985, partly as a result of the events that led to the end of the cold war, the market-economy countries of Europe have been experiencing increased migration intakes. Given that labour migration is still restricted, family reunification and the search for asylum have been the main avenues for legal admission to those countries. Some countries have also been receiving large inflows of persons whose origin or background qualifies them for admission and citizenship. That is the case of Germany, whose constitution grants persons of German descent originating in Central and Eastern European countries (i.e. Aussiedler) the right to German citizenship. Thus, during 1985-1990, Western Germany admitted 1.1 million Aussiedler originating in countries of Eastern Europe and in the former USSR. Largely because of such inflows, Western Germany saw its net migration rise from about 3,000 persons per year during 1980-1984 to approximately 378,000 persons annually during 1985-1989.

6. With some variation, other market-economy countries in Europe also tended to display increasing trends in net migration during the 1980s. Thus, Belgium, Germany (Western), the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom, which are among the few countries in the world having adequate statistics on international migration flows, jointly experienced a net loss of nearly 10,000 persons annually during 1980-1984 but by 1985-1989 their annual net gain surpassed 459,000 (table 2). When the country of origin of migrants is taken into account, those five receiving countries experienced a net loss of migrants from developed countries (including their own citizens) of some 39,000 persons annually during 1980-1984 but an annual gain of 29,000 migrants from developing countries. By 1985-1989, annual gains amounted to 303,000 and 156,000 migrants from developed and developing countries, respectively.[6] Both the admission of Aussiedler and growing numbers of asylum-seekers contributed to such trends. Independent data on the number of asylum applications filed in the market-economy countries of Europe indicate that they rose from 65,000 in 1983 to 314,000 in 1989. Out of a total of 1.3 million asylum applications filed during 1983-1989, 30 per cent were from persons originating in countries of Eastern Europe and in the former USSR, and the rest from persons from developing countries.[7] Data for 1990-1993 indicate that the number of asylum applications may have peaked in 1992 when 693,000 cases were filed.[8]

7. The reconfiguration of States that has taken place largely since 1990 has had important implications for international migration. Thus, the reunification of Germany transformed international migration flows into internal movements, whereas the disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia has internationalized movements that used to be internal. According to the 1989 census of the former Soviet Union, 25.3 million Russians lived in non-Russian republics. Because the legal and economic situation of Russians in some of the successor States of the former Soviet Union is uncertain, return flows have become evident. In 1991, for instance, according to one estimate 43 per cent of the population increase in the Russian Federation was attributable to net migration gains.[9] In addition, conflict and instability in some successor States has already led to substantial flows of refugees and displaced persons between neighbouring countries. Yet, the conflict that still afflicts the former Yugoslavia has been the major generator of persons in need of protection: 3.8 million as of mid-1994, 2.7 million of whom were in Bosnia-Herzegovina and half a million in Croatia.[10]

8. Another important development in recent years has been the increase of migration directed to some of the countries of Eastern and South-eastern Asia whose expanding economies have been experiencing labour shortages. Because of the reluctance of Governments to admit migrant workers legally, irregular flows have been common. In the early 1990s, Japan was estimated to be hosting nearly 300,000 undocumented migrants in addition to the million or so foreign residents legally present in the country. In the Republic of Korea, a regularization drive carried out in 1992 produced 61,000 applications; and in Malaysia, 320,000 undocumented migrants applied for legalization under an amnesty programme implemented in 1992.[11] Women have constituted significant proportions of the flows of undocumented migrants in the region, a development that parallels their increased participation in labour migration directed to the oil-rich countries of Western Asia where they are mainly employed as domestic workers.

9. Undocumented migration has also been common in Southern Europe, where countries that had been major sources of migrant workers during the 1960s and 1970s began to attract foreign labour as their economies grew. Lacking explicit policies for the admission of such labour, migrants remained in an irregular situation until their status was regularized by legislation adopted to control migration. In Spain, as a result of the Organic Law of July 1985, 44,000 undocumented migrants applied for regularization in 1985-1986 and under a second amnesty granted in 1991, 133,000 requests for regularization were lodged. In Italy, 105,000 undocumented migrants legalized their status during 1987-1988 under Act No. 943 and in 1990, Act No. 39 allowed the further legalization of 216,000 undocumented migrants.[12]

10. Migration between neighbouring African and Latin American countries has also tended to occur without the explicit sanction of receiving States. In Africa, where national borders often divide people belonging to the same ethnic group, irregular migration has generally been tolerated. However, especially when faced with stringent economic conditions, the Governments of some receiving countries have resorted to mass expulsions of undocumented migrants.[13] In Latin America, the major receiving countries have tended to use regularizations as a means of establishing some degree of control over migration from neighbouring countries. Thus, in 1980 Venezuela offered undocumented migrants who registered during a special drive preferential treatment when applying for a resident visa. A total of 267,000 persons registered, of whom 92 per cent were Colombian.[14] In Argentina, amnesties for undocumented migrants have become major tools of migration policy and the country has had recourse to them at least once every decade since 1950.[15]

11. By its very nature, undocumented migration remains difficult to quantify. A further complicating factor is that the status of migrants can and does change over time. Thus, migrants may enter and reside in a country legally but, if not allowed to engage in an economic activity, may become undocumented if they work. Others may become undocumented only when they stay beyond the time allowed by their entry or residence permits. Yet others may be persons whose application for asylum is rejected but who manage to evade deportation. The statistical bases on which to estimate stocks of undocumented migrants are generally weak or non-existent. Consequently, the figures on the number of undocumented migrants claimed to exist often prove to be wide off the mark when confronted with concrete evidence. In particular, regularization drives usually yield considerably lower numbers of undocumented migrants than those claimed to exist and, although there are often reasons to believe that some undocumented migrants may fail to apply for regularization, the differences in magnitude between regularization results and claims made about the number of undocumented migrants is generally so large that it cannot but cast doubt on the latter.

12. To date, only the United States has carried out a regularization drive involving more than a million undocumented migrants. Under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), some 3 million undocumented migrants applied for legalization. By October 1993, 2.7 million had been granted permanent resident status.[16] However, because IRCA did not grant amnesty to all undocumented migrants present in the United States at the time of its passage, neither the regularization that resulted nor the employer sanctions imposed by the Act have brought undocumented migration entirely under control. The perceived inability of IRCA to control undocumented migration is a source of concern. In fact, concern about the growing potential for undocumented migration is shared by most receiving countries, especially since few countries have policies envisaging the legal admission of sizeable numbers of migrants. Indeed, during the past 15 years, the proportion of countries considering that their levels of immigration are too high has tripled (table 3) and, because the total number of countries in the world has increased, those considering their migration intakes as excessive have passed from 10 in 1976 to 39 in 1994. European countries, in particular, have been faced since 1980 with persistently high unemployment even during times of robust economic growth. Their general view is that, despite their ageing populations, they are unlikely to experience the kind of labour shortages that would prompt them to resort again to labour migration on a large scale.

13. Consequently, the avenues for authorized voluntary migration are likely to remain few and restricted in the near future. In the major receiving countries of the developed world, family reunification is likely to continue being one of the major avenues for further migration. Countries admitting immigrants on a permanent basis have had well-established programmes allowing the reunification of family members, often including more than the spouse and minor children of an immigrant. Countries where migrant workers have acquired the right to long-term residence also allow family reunification, but generally restrict it to the spouse and minor children of a migrant. In countries where migrants are admitted on a temporary basis, family reunification tends not to be allowed, especially if the migrants involved are unskilled workers earning low salaries. Undocumented migrants do not have the right to family reunification. To the extent that migration between developing countries is allowed only under temporary worker schemes, family reunification will not be a major factor fueling authorized migration in the developing world.

14. A type of migration that has grown in recent years and may expand further is that involving special groups of people whose ethnic or national background makes them eligible for admission and, in some cases, for naturalization in countries other than their own. The case of Aussiedler who have the right to German citizenship has already been mentioned. Finland, Greece, Israel, Italy and Japan are among the countries that allow the admission of special groups of migrants that are either descendants of previous emigrants or can prove that their origin qualifies them for admission.

15. A third possible avenue for authorized migration is open to persons having needed skills. The trend towards globalization that has led to growing financial, trading and investment linkages between nation States can only be sustained by increasing the mobility of managerial and technical personnel. The pursuit of freer terms of trade embodied by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is being accompanied by negotiations on a General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which includes provisions that would reduce barriers to the international movement of natural persons involved in the provision of the services.[17] Yet, it is not only in relation to trade that the migration of skilled personnel is likely to increase. Both developed and developing countries

have been admitting the skilled personnel required to enhance economic efficiency and acquire technological proficiency. Indeed, the evidence suggests that growing numbers of skilled persons originating both in developed and in developing countries are finding employment in developing countries whose economies are growing.[18] In contrast, very few countries, whether developed or developing, are willing to admit substantial numbers of unskilled foreign workers.

16. There is also considerable reluctance to admit large numbers of persons fleeing conflict in their countries of origin. Such persons are being identified as forced migrants, a category which encompasses refugees. Although refugee movements are a facet of migratory movements, their specificity derives from the determination of what constitutes a refugee. According to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, refugees are persons who flee their country or stay away from it because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.[19] As of mid-1994, 126 countries were parties to the Convention or its 1967 Protocol.

17. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) sources, the number of refugees in the world doubled between 1984 and 1991, passing from 8 million to 16 million. Early in 1993 there were nearly 19 million refugees and by 1994 the total population of concern to the High Commissioner had reached 23 million, 16.4 million of whom were refugees and the rest were persons in need of protection who did not have refugee status.[20] In addition, there were 2.5 million Palestinian refugees under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).[21] The continuous growth of the world refugee population had happened despite considerable successes regarding voluntary repatriation. During 1975-1991, about 6.8 million refugees had returned voluntarily to their countries of origin.[22] In addition, during 1975-1990, over 1.5 million Indo-Chinese refugees were resettled in third countries, the vast majority (about 1.2 million) in developed countries.[23]

18. Yet, since 1980 most refugees have found asylum in the developing world. In 1993, nearly 9 out of every 10 refugees were in developing countries, some of which are among the poorest in the world.[24] The impact of large refugee populations on the socio-economic infrastructures and development prospects of developing countries cannot be treated in isolation from each other. Likewise, the socio-economic situation prevailing in the refugees' country of origin cannot be disregarded in any comprehensive consideration of the root causes of refugee outflows. Efforts to integrate refugee assistance into development planning have been made, but much remains to be done if long-standing refugee populations are to become self-sufficient. As the number or the length of stay of refugees in certain developing countries has increased and competition with the local population has grown, there is growing reluctance on the part of Governments to admit and assist large influxes of refugees.[25]

19. Developed countries have also had difficulties coping with the growing numbers of asylum-seekers whose cases sometimes take years to be adjudicated and who often do not qualify for refugee status under applicable instruments. In response to such developments, a number of developed countries have adopted measures to streamline their asylum adjudication procedures and to control the admission of would-be asylum-seekers. Such measures include imposing sanctions on airlines transporting persons without the required documents, imposing entry visas, preventing asylum-seekers from filing applications in different countries simultaneously, and preventing nationals from certain "safe" countries from applying for asylum. Such measures, though meant to prevent the abuse of the

asylum system, may nevertheless prevent bona fide refugees from seeking asylum altogether.[26] As a countervailing measure, the granting of temporary protected status and other forms of temporary protection that fall short of full refugee status have been used by Governments to extend protection to persons who need it while obviating the need for lengthy procedures to determine individual eligibility.

20. Lastly, the aftermath of the Gulf War and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia have marked a new development in refugee assistance. The international community has set up "safe areas" within the countries affected by conflict, and aid has been channelled through the UNHCR to the populations living or seeking refuge in those areas.[27] Such mechanisms, however, have posed major problems in assuring the safety of the populations involved. It is recognized that protection and assistance in the country of origin cannot be an effective substitute for asylum in other countries, though such activities may usefully supplement asylum under specific circumstances. The use of "safe havens" in third countries, as those used in the case of Cubans and Haitians fleeing their countries by boat, has been yet another strategy to deal with large outflows of people seeking asylum.

II. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

21. The issue of international migration and development has mostly been discussed in relation to the economic aspects of labour migration. According to the balanced growth perspective proposed by neoclassical economic theory, migration for employment is a rational way to improve world-wide economic efficiency and output by transferring workers from areas with surpluses to those experiencing shortages both within and across national boundaries. According to neoclassical economic theory, such transfer should result in a narrowing of income differentials between areas of origin and those of destination because, as migrants leave, the wages of those who remain rise; migrant remittances contribute to create jobs in the areas of origin; and in the areas of destination inflationary pressures on wages are prevented by ensuring an adequate supply of labour.[28] Such outcomes, however, depend on various assumptions, including that migrants have skill levels similar to those of the workers left behind and of those in the area of destination, and that full employment in the areas of origin and destination is maintained during the migration process. Because those assumptions are generally not fulfilled in practice, the effects of labour migration tend not to conform to those predicted by models based on neoclassical theory. Yet, the expansion of labour migration to the market-economy countries of Europe was largely predicated on the basis of the mutually beneficial effects of migration on sending and receiving countries, and doubts about their validity began to surface relatively late in the process.[29]

22. Partly as a result of the 1973-1974 decision by the major labour-importing countries of Europe to stop admitting migrant workers, a reassessment of the economic impact of labour migration was undertaken. On the basis of village and area studies, it was suggested that labour migration increased rather than reduced the inequality between areas of origin and destination.[30] Because of deficiencies in the existing economic structure of areas of origin, remittances could not be used productively and did not lead to the generation of sufficient jobs. Returning migrants found few investment opportunities and their newly acquired skills could not be easily transferred to the country of origin. In addition, because migrant workers tended to be better educated and more skilled than those remaining behind, migration resulted in a downgrading of the human resources of the area of origin, a factor that also militated against development.

23. Over the past 20 years the debate over whether international labour migration improves or retards the development prospects of areas of origin and those of destination has continued, and there is still no consensus on the issue. With regard to countries of destination, there is agreement that those experiencing a shortage of labour benefit from migration because it has a significant and positive effect on economic growth.[31] However, the effects of migration are less clear in a context of rising unemployment and there is no guarantee that the migrants admitted when shortages arise will leave when unemployment rises.

24. Concern has been expressed about the impact that migrants can have on the employment opportunities or earnings of domestic workers. Studies on the United States have concluded that immigrants do not depress the wages of native workers, mostly because migrants and natives do not compete for the same jobs.[32] In addition, the evidence does not support the claim that minority groups are more likely to see their wages affected negatively by the presence of migrants.[33] When allowance is made for the legal status of migrants, there appears to be greater competition in the labour market between legal migrants and natives than between the latter and undocumented migrants.[34]

25. In developed countries with advanced welfare services, it has been claimed that migrants are more likely to be on welfare than non-migrants. In fact, when data are available on the issue, migrants do not appear more likely than non-migrants to use welfare services when account is taken of the demographic characteristics of the two groups.[35] A related issue is whether the welfare costs attibutable to migrants are balanced by their contribution to public revenues. In Australia, for instance, it has been estimated that in fiscal year 1985/86 the ratio of taxes received by the State to welfare benefits paid to qualifying persons stood at 2.31 for non-migrants and only slightly lower, at 2.18, for migrants.[36] In the United States, studies that quantify the level of public revenues and expenditures associated with the presence of migrants have tended to be inconclusive about what are the net fiscal costs of immigration, but have suggested that the fiscal burden of providing services to migrants falls more heavily on state and local governments than on the federal Government.[37] However, a review of studies on the issue published since 1990 concludes that, not only do they provide a weak basis for assessing the net fiscal costs of immigration at the national level, but that their conclusions at the local level are also debatable because they depend on a host of assumptions and conceptual approaches that cannot be validated by existing data.[38] Such methodological problems are unlikely to be resolved without recourse to adequate data on the numbers and types of migrants present at the local level, the use that they actually make of public services, and the revenues that they contribute to the public fisc.

26. Most studies assessing the impact of migration on the welfare State are based on cross-sectional information and do not always control for the stage of migrants in the life-cycle. Since the costs and benefits of migration are likely to vary according to the composition of the migrant population by stage in the life cycle, a time perspective is necessary to make an adequate assessment of migration's impact. In the European context, for instance, migration's benefits probably reached a maximum when labour migration peaked, and most migrants were young and economically active. As family formation or reunification proceeded, welfare transfers probably increased, despite the high levels of return migration. Then, with the further ageing of migrant cohorts, social transfers are likely to have risen further. An assessment of the costs and benefits of migrants over the complete life cycle or, more specifically, during the time that

they actually spend in the receiving country, largely remains to be carried out.[39]

27. With regard to the countries of origin, labour migration generates important and immediate benefits, such as relieving domestic employment pressures, developing a more skilled workforce and generating remittances. However, labour migration is far from being a panacea for development dilemmas. In particular, its effects may be less than desirable when recruitment is stopped by countries of destination, when return migration coincides with difficult economic conditions at home, when the skills of returning migrants are not required by the country of origin, or when remittances induce inflationary pressures. There is, therefore, no guarantee that labour migration will lead to economic growth in the country of origin. Yet, benefits do exist and the challenge is to organize migration so that those benefits are maximized.

28. Among the possible negative effects of migration on economic development, one that raises considerable concern is the loss of skilled personnel, especially that possessing the managerial, professional and technical skills needed for the acquisition and use of technology.[40] Africa, in particular, is estimated to have lost a considerable proportion of its highly skilled workers through migration, a loss that certainly hinders its development prospects. Although developed countries are generally assumed to be the destination of skilled personnel from developing countries, there is evidence suggesting that an increasing number of skilled workers are moving from one developing country to another.[41] The oil-rich countries of Western Asia have been a major destination for such migrants, but so have certain Asian newly industrializing economies (NIEs). The transfer of technology has also involved the migration of professional and technical personnel from developed to developing countries, particularly in relation to the operation of multinational corporations. That is, a virtuous circle is likely to arise in cases where development strategies are successful: economic growth attracts both the capital and the personnel that help maintain such growth. Conversely, however, lack of economic growth prevents the accumulation of both the capital and human resources needed to fuel development.

29. There is general agreement that one of the major economic impacts of international migration on countries of origin is the inflow of remittances. It is estimated that global remittance credits rose from US$43 billion in 1980 to US$71 billion in 1990, a figure that compares favourably with the US$54 billion provided as official development assistance (ODA) by member States of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to developing countries that year.[42] For a number of sending countries, remittances exceed the value of merchandise exports or are equivalent to a substantial proportion of the value of such exports. In some countries, the economic impact of remittances may be considerably larger than that of foreign direct investment.

30. Although there is no consensus about whether remittances are used in a manner that accelerates development or not, they undoubtedly contribute to improving the standard of living of family members left behind and are generally used rationally by migrants and their families provided viable investment opportunities exist.[43] In some countries the use of remittances for investment compares favourably with that of savings. Furthermore, remittances are also used frequently to improve human capital by allowing the children of migrants to remain in school. Though remittances have been found to increase income inequality in some contexts, their overall impact appears to depend on the stage of the migration process and the composition of the migrant flow. At the early stages of migration, migrants are likely to be more selected and their

remittances are likely to increase inequalities in the community of origin. As the flow matures, migration is likely to involve a more varied group of people so that their remittances would tend to have a more equalizing effect on income.[44]

31. The importance of remittances for many developing countries exemplifies one of the linkages that increasingly characterize the global economy. The operation of transnational corporations offers another example of growing ties between developed and developing countries: since 1970, corporations based mostly in developed countries have been exporting capital rather than importing labour in order to reduce labour costs and open new markets. Japan, in particular, has promoted the establishment of Japanese subsidiaries abroad, mainly in the newly industrializing economies of Eastern and South-eastern Asia. Such strategy, however, has not prevented the emergence of unmet labour demands in Japan itself and the ensuing rise of migrant inflows. Furthermore, despite their success in maintaining strong economic growth, several of the original newly industrializing economies have been major sources of emigrants. So have Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, all members of the second generation of newly industrializing economies.[45] These findings appear to confirm the conclusion reached by the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development established by the Congress of the United States in 1986. Among other things, the Commission concluded that the development process itself sets in motion forces that, over the short run, probably enhance rather than reduce emigration pressures.[46]

32. The Commission also stressed that, given the importance that a country's policies regarding trade and production have in shaping international migration, it is essential for receiving countries to consider carefully the implications of all such policies on migration pressures abroad. According to the Commission, expanded trade between countries of emigration and the United States is the single most important strategy to reduce migration pressures in the long run. Similar suggestions have been made in other fora,[47] but developed market economies have found it difficult to reduce trade barriers for those goods that developing countries can produce competitively, especially agricultural products and textiles. There are, however, some hopeful developments. The successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations under GATT has been one, particularly considering that since that Round started in 1986 a dozen developing countries have joined the GATT and others have started negotiations to do so.[48]

33. The United States Commission's conclusions highlight the need to stop considering migration in isolation from other processes that are impinging on the functioning of the world economy. Improvements in transport and communications; the growing role of transnational corporations in organizing production, exchange and consumption processes that extend beyond national boundaries; the interdependence fostered by various types of exchanges, including trade, the flows of technology and capital, and the movement of management cadres and other trained personnel, all have implications for migration. More importantly, the new development paradigm that propounds the adoption of free market strategies to enhance economic growth is leading both to major structural changes in the developing countries that are trying to implement such strategies and to more open economies. As the cases of the Asian newly industrializing economies illustrate, such a process of transformation has often been accompanied by substantial migration, particularly because successful development implies that the income of a country's citizens improves and more people become capable of covering the costs of international migration, which are generally substantial.

Yet, if development is successful, such potential for emigration will only result in migration if conditions in receiving countries warrant it.

III. SOCIAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

34. In a number of countries of destination, international migration has led to the emergence of distinct population groups which, depending on a number of factors, have become either distinct communities that are nevertheless integral parts of a multicultural society or minorities excluded and marginalized from the rest of society.[49] Though many migrants and their descendants have successfully merged with the general population and no longer constitute distinct groups, those that do remain distinct tend to cluster geographically and maintain their languages and cultures. Those constituting visible minorities are, in addition, partially excluded from the wider society by at least one of the following factors: being subject to legal constraints not applicable to the rest of the population; having insecure residence status; having poor naturalization prospects; being denied social and political rights; having low prospects of economic or social mobility; being subject to ethnic or racial discrimination, racist violence or harassment.

35. Minority formation depends largely on the types of policies adopted to shape migrant admissions and to manage the eventual settlement of those migrants who decide to stay. Because large-scale temporary migration inevitably leads to some degree of settlement, in countries where migrant workers are admitted only on a temporary basis the potential for fostering exclusion and minority formation is high, especially because the policies needed to ensure temporariness are intrinsically exclusionary and, if maintained once a critical settler mass is reached, cannot but foster inequality and segregation. Thus, temporary migrant workers are usually subject to institutional discrimination, being barred by law from changing jobs or from taking employment in the public sector.[50] Often, migrants are not eligible for public assistance or unemployment compensation and unemployment itself may be a cause for deportation. Migrant women, if admitted explicitly as dependants of migrant men, are often barred from exercising an economic activity or having access to public assistance. Such policies reinforce the trend towards labour-market segmentation and steer both male and female migrants into low-skilled jobs that provide few prospects for upward mobility.[51]

36. Labour-market segmentation tends to go hand in hand with residential segregation. Migrants occupying low-income jobs usually have little room to save and may need to remit as much as possible to the family left behind. Therefore, they tend to seek cheap housing in working-class areas. Proximity to work is an important determinant of the choice of location. In some countries, residential clustering has been encouraged by institutional practices, such as the provision of housing by employers or public authorities. Although in many instances such housing is of better quality than that obtained in the open market, it often leads to the isolation of migrant workers and their families, and reinforces the trend towards segregation. However, residential segregation is not an entirely negative phenomenon. Although it is often the result of discrimination on the part of the majority population, it enables migrants to seek mutual support, to build or reestablish family and neighbourhood networks, and to maintain their languages and cultures.[52] Migrant women, in particular, benefit from such developments. Ethnic neighbourhoods also allow the establishment of small businesses and agencies catering to the needs of migrants and thus facilitate the formation of migrant associations.

37. Immigration policies are major shapers of the settlement experience of migrants. In countries where permanent immigration is accepted and migrants are

granted secure residence status, the same economic and social rights as nationals, and most civil rights, the migrants themselves may develop a long-term perspective and plans. In contrast, in cases where the myth of a short-term sojourn is maintained, the views and projects of migrants are inevitably contradictory since return to the country of origin may be difficult but permanence in the receiving country may be doubtful. Moreover, official ideologies of temporary migration create expectations among the general population that may lead to hostility and resentment towards migrants in the long run, especially if temporary sojourn turns into settlement. The failure of national authorities to admit or explain the reasons for such changes is likely to foster the view that the migrants themselves are responsible for any problems that may arise. In particular, during periods of rapid social and economic change, when the majority population feels insecure and threatened, hostility towards migrant or ethnic groups may grow, as has been the case during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

38. As with respect to other issues, minority formation in receiving countries is a more complex and dynamic process than can be reflected here. Besides, in most countries different migrant groups are subject to different treatments, thus experiencing quite varied processes of adaptation. Not only is national origin of importance in determining a migrant's experience, so is the type of work performed. Today, highly skilled migrants are welcomed by most countries as an asset. In contrast, unskilled workers are generally unwelcome and they are often compelled to enter through indirect channels, be they family reunification, unauthorized migration or the search for asylum. Though unskilled foreign workers are often needed to carry out the jobs spurned by the rest of society, their contribution to the receiving economy remains largely unacknowledged. Furthermore, as more countries opt for tacitly tolerating undocumented migration instead of recognizing their need for unskilled foreign workers, the trend towards the formation of minorities and their marginalization is likely to continue.

39. The Governments of countries of destination have an interest to ensure that migrants fare as well as possible, particularly if long-term settlement takes place. Policies that marginalize certain groups of migrants should be avoided. In this context, the need to control undocumented migration is important, not only to enforce the law but also to prevent the exploitation of migrants and to reduce the likelihood of creating yet a new group of marginalized people lacking adequate social and economic rights. However, unauthorized migration may be difficult to control when there is a real need for the labour that undocumented migrants provide. Acknowledging such need and developing migration programmes that permit the satisfaction of existing labour demand under the control of the law is the surest way of ensuring that international migration remains an asset rather than a liability.

40. As the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on Population and Development notes, in the long run, the effective management of international migration "hinges on making the option to remain in one's country a viable one for all people".[53] That goal can only be reached by ensuring that human rights are respected in all countries and that the standards of living of people in developing countries improve. Although the case is often made that it will take many decades for the per capita income of developing countries to reach that of the developed world, what matters is that convergence may seem possible and that people in developing countries become convinced that improvements for them and their children are likely in their own country.

IV. VIEWS OF GOVERNMENTS REGARDING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

41. The Secretary-General requested the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis (DESIPA) to act as the focal point for the preparation of the report on international migration and development called for by General Assembly resolution 49/127. Consequently, and in accordance with that resolution, the views of Governments regarding the convening of an international conference on international migration and development were solicited through a letter sent to all Permanent Representatives to the United Nations by the Under-Secretary-General of DESIPA. The letter, which was sent by 6 February 1995, indicated that responses were expected by 3 March. Between 15 and 30 March, all the Permanent Missions to the United Nations that had not responded as yet were contacted by telephone and informed that responses would still be considered if received before the middle of April.

42. By 26 April 1994, responses had been received from the following Governments:

Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Croatia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France (on behalf of the 15 members of the European Union), the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Romania, the Russian Federation, Switzerland, Thailand, Togo, the United States, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

Because of the high level of non-response, it is not possible to assess to what extent the responses obtained are representative of the views of all Governments.

43. Nineteen Governments (including the member States of the European Union) expressed reservations about holding the proposed international conference, suggesting that a decision to convene a conference was premature and that other mechanisms for addressing the issues raised by international migration in relation to development should be considered first. Another three Governments, though somewhat more favourable to the possibility of convening an international conference, felt that more work was necessary to establish an agenda for political negotiations, in particular by identifying areas of possible agreement and promoting an exchange of views at the regional level. The remaining 15 countries were generally in favour of convening an international conference but expressed a variety of views regarding its possible objectives and the issues that should be addressed.

44. Among the 13 Governments that commented on the types of migrants that a possible conference should deal with, there was considerable agreement on the fact that a comprehensive approach was required and that all types of migrants should be taken into account. Only two countries suggested that issues related to refugees and other types of forced migrants should not be treated by a possible conference.

45. There was general agreement among the Governments that favoured the convening of an international conference on international migration that it would be of a political nature, involving negotiations among Governments. Several Governments noted that such a conference would have to deal also with technical and substantive issues, particularly in relation to the formulation of effective recommendations for action. The results of the International Conference on Population and Development and of the World Summit for Social Development were mentioned by a number of Governments as providing a good basis for further negotiation. However, Governments that favoured the holding of a conference on

international migration and development stressed that it should aim at improving on the agreements reached in those two conferences. Some of the issues singled out for further consideration included ways of strengthening the commitment of receiving countries to protect the social and economic rights of documented migrants; the consolidation of the acquired rights of those migrants; ways of promoting the integration of migrant workers; measures to improve economic cooperation between sending and receiving countries and to increase development aid to the former; strategies to prevent forced migration or to mitigate its negative impacts; and measures to support and facilitate the return of migrants. Several countries stressed the need to address the causes of migration and consider the ways in which international migration could foster development in a context of increasing globalization. One country thought it important to promote the coordination and harmonization of international migration policies.

46. Most countries that favoured holding a conference suggested that its main outcome would be a programme of action, possibly accompanied by a declaration. A few suggested that such a conference could be used to promote the ratification of relevant international instruments relating to migration. Other countries were of the opinion that the adequacy of those instruments had to be assessed and the results of such assessment should be reflected in the programme of action.

47. Regarding the preparatory process for a possible conference, 13 out of the 15 Governments that expressed an opinion supported the holding of regional meetings that would facilitate reaching a first level of agreement on difficult issues. Some of the countries that expressed doubts about holding a global conference suggested that a regional approach be adopted first in order to obtain a better sense of the type of agenda that a possible global conference could address. Countries favouring the holding of a global conference suggested that, in addition to regional meetings, there should be two or three meetings of a preparatory committee. Most countries favoured the active participation of relevant international organizations, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations in the preparatory process and in the conference itself. Several countries proposed following a preparatory process similar to that preceding the International Conference on Population and Development and a few stressed the need for solid substantive preparations involving technical meetings and the preparation of national reports. One country indicated that an important part of the preparatory activities should be the conference on refugees, returnees and displaced persons and related migratory movements in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and relevant neighbouring States that was being organized by UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

48. Recognizing that a number of United Nations bodies had mandates related to international migration and that other international organizations also played important roles in that field, most countries that expressed a view regarding the structure of the secretariat for a possible conference suggested that it be constituted by personnel from different United Nations bodies and other organizations. DESIPA, International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UNHCR and IOM were among those mentioned. Two countries also suggested that the secretariat include representatives of receiving and of sending countries.

49. Among the 11 countries that mentioned a possible date for a conference, all but two cited 1997 or later. A few stressed that it was important to ensure that the preparatory process was not rushed. With respect to funding, most of the 12 countries that addressed the issue stated that a conference on international migration and development should be funded through the regular budget of the

United Nations, though a few added that trust funds could be set up to finance preparatory activities or the participation of developing countries.

50. Countries that were reluctant to hold a global conference on international migration expressed no views on its possible modalities. However, recognizing that international migration and its relation to development is an important issue, they suggested that it be treated by the normal machinery of the United Nations. Thus, it was noted that the Commission on Population and Development had already decided to devote 1997 to the consideration of international migration and development as a special topic in its deliberations. Furthermore, it was suggested that the topic could be considered by the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council. Most countries that did not favour holding a conference on international migration indicated that there had already been too many global conferences and that it was wiser to work towards the implementation of the agreements reached by ICPD or the World Summit for Social Development than to spend scarce resources on another global conference.

51. To aid Governments in their deliberations regarding the convening of a conference on international migration and development, the following sections review the organizational aspects of other conferences and the activities in the area of international migration being carried out by the different agencies and bodies of the United Nations system and other relevant organizations.

V. ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES OF OTHER UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCES

52. Given that several of the Governments that favoured convening an international conference on international migration cited as possible models previous United Nations conferences, it was considered useful to review their organizational modalities. The three major conferences mentioned by Governments were UNCED, ICPD and the World Summit for Social Development.

53. The General Assembly took the first step to convene the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1989 when it adopted resolution 44/228. The Conference took place two and a half years later in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and lasted nearly two weeks, from 3 to 14 June 1992. The preparatory process included an organizational session of the preparatory committee held early in 1990 and four substantive sessions held between August 1990 and April 1992. Each substantive session of the preparatory committee lasted at least three weeks. The Conference output included the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development; Agenda 21: Programme of Action for Sustainable Development; and a Statement of Forest Principles. Technical meetings and seminars of different types were convened to provide the substantive basis for the preparation of the drafts of those documents, especially of Agenda 21. At least one technical meeting was held for each of the 40 issues covered by Agenda 21. In addition, a series of intergovernmental regional meetings also provided input for the Conference. Voluntary contributions to a trust fund were used to finance special projects, media events, publicity and other activities in support of the Conference. The organization and substantive servicing of UNCED was carried out by an ad hoc secretariat established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, drawing on system-wide inputs.

54. The International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo, Egypt, from 5 to 13 September 1994, was the third of a series of United Nations intergovernmental conferences on population issues. The decision to convene in 1994 an international meeting on population was made by ECOSOC in 1989 (resolution 1989/91); the preparatory process for the Conference began in 1991

with the first session of the preparatory committee. Two more sessions of the preparatory committee took place, one in 1993 lasting two weeks and another in 1994, lasting three weeks. The substantive preparations for the Conference also included holding six expert group meetings, each focusing on major groups of issues under the overall theme of population, and the organization of five regional conferences by the United Nations regional commissions. In addition, five ad hoc round-table meetings on topics of special interest were held under the auspices of certain Governments or organizations, and their conclusions were part of the substantive input for the Conference. All these meetings, which took place before the third session of the preparatory committee, yielded recommendations that served as basis for the preparation of a draft Programme of Action, whose final version was adopted by the Conference. Aside from regular budget funds to cover the costs of the Conference, two trust funds were established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations: one to support preparatory activities, and another to facilitate the participation of developing countries. In addition, UNFPA established a trust fund to support national preparatory activities, including meetings and studies at the country level, public information and awareness creation. The secretariat for the Conference was headed by the Executive Director of UNFPA, serving as Secretary-General of the Conference and by the Director of the Population Division, DESIPA, serving as Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference. Staff from the Population Division of DESIPA and UNFPA were drawn upon to undertake the necessary preparatory activities and carry out the organizational aspects of the Conference. Additional staff were added to the Secretariat through secondment from UNDP and UNICEF, through budgetary allocations for the Conference by the United Nations, and through extra-budgetary funds.

55. In 1992, the General Assembly decided to convene a World Summit for Social Development (resolution 47/92). The Summit took place slightly more than two years later in Copenhagen, Denmark, and lasted one week, from 6 to 12 March 1995. The preparatory committee for the Summit held its organizational session in April 1993 and three more substantive sessions of the committee were held before the Summit, each lasting two weeks. The substantive preparations of the Summit were supported by activities carried out by Governments, non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations, which included seminars, workshops and symposia on issues of direct relevance to the Summit. Thus, the regional commissions carried out a series of supportive activities at the regional level; the secretariat for the World Summit convened a Seminar on Ethical and Spiritual Dimensions of Social Progress; and United Nations agencies, programmes and organizations carried out a number of meetings, seminars and workshops. Aside from regular budget allocations to finance the preparation of the World Summit, a trust fund was established to facilitate the participation of delegations from least developed countries and of experts from those countries. No separate secretariat was established to service the World Summit. The Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development coordinated the organizational and substantive activities involved in the Summit, drawing on system-wide inputs.

VI. RELEVANT ACTIVITIES OF UNITED NATIONS BODIES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

56. As the following inventory shows, within the United Nations system, different United Nations departments and programmes, specialized agencies, and other bodies deal with various aspects of international migration, either directly or indirectly in terms of its relation to development. Issues related to the international migration of labour, for example, fall within the purview of the International Labour Organization. UNHCR, which deals with refugees and certain other types of forced migrants, is among the few United Nations bodies

concerning itself exclusively with migration issues. The Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis (DESIPA) addresses migration issues from a substantive perspective, being concerned with all types of migrants and the policy issues related to migration. In addition, a number of international governmental organizations outside of the United Nations system deal with migration issues, and there are many non-governmental organizations that provide assistance to migrants of different types at the local, regional and, in some cases, international level. The following overview of the relevant activities of different bodies and organizations is meant to inform about their specific areas of expertise. Attention is mostly focused on the activities of the United Nations system but, for illustrative purposes, two inter-governmental organizations, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), have also been included. The OECD has a long tradition of dealing with the political and developmental aspects of international migration and the IOM is primarily devoted to operational activities related to international migration.

A. United Nations Secretariat

Centre for Human Rights

57. Under the Commission on Human Rights, the Centre has a mandate to focus on the human rights issues relative to internally displaced persons and mass exoduses. The rights of migrant workers have also been an issue of interest to the Centre, especially since the Centre provided substantive services for the intergovernmental group drafting the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families which was opened for ratification in 1990. By the end of 1994, four countries were signatories of the Convention and three had ratified it, becoming parties to it (one was both a signatory and a party to the Convention). The Convention will enter into force three months after the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession is received.

Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA)

58. The Department chairs and services the Inter-Agency Standing Committee which addresses issues related to internal and external population displacement. It also convenes and chairs, on a monthly basis, the ACC-initiated inter-agency Consultations on Early Warning of New Flows of Refugees and Displaced Persons.

Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis (DESIPA)

59. The Population Division of DESIPA, under the guidance of the Commission on Population and Development, carries out studies on international migration levels and trends; international migration policies; and the interrelations of international migration with development. All types of migration are considered in carrying out those studies. The migration of women has received particular attention and a report on International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants has just been published. As part of the ICPD Secretariat, the Population Division covened the Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration which provided the basis for the preparation of chapter X on international migration of the ICPD Programme of Action. At its last session, the Commission on Population and Development, in planning its follow-up activities for ICPD, decided to devote its 1997 session to the consideration of issues related to international migration and development. Under the direction of the Statistical Commission, the Statistical Division of DESIPA is charged with

setting standards for the gathering and dissemination of international migration statistics. As requested by the Statistical Commission, a revision of the United Nations recommendations on international migration statistics is under way. Lastly, the Macroeconomic and Social Policy Analysis Division of DESIPA has carried out studies on the social aspects of international migration.

Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development (DPCSD)

60. The Department served as the secretariat for the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), whose Programme of Action contains a chapter devoted to the social needs of refugees, displaced persons and asylum-seekers; documented migrants; and undocumented migrants. The Department provides secretariat services for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. The draft Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women has portions devoted to women and migration. The Department prepared the Report of the Secretary-General on Violence against women migrant workers (A/49/354), which resulted in GA resolution 49/165 and provided support for GA resolution 49/166 on Traffic in women and girls. As the secretariat for the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), the Department deals with issues related to the follow-up of UNCED, including demographic dynamics and sustainability, and populations at risk from environmental degradation. Population and migration were main themes of the Tokyo Conference on Global Environmental Action, a CSD-related intersessional meeting, and the twenty-ninth session (1994) of the Committee for Development Planning.

B. Regional commissions

61. Through its Population Division, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) monitors regularly the patterns and trends of international migration in Africa. The Division carries out studies on various issues related to migration. A recent publication, entitled Patterns, Causes and Consequences for Development Planning of Female Migration in Selected ECA Member States, draws attention to the importance of the migration of women in the continent. A workshop on the topic is expected to be held in the near future. A study on the causes and consequences of international migration in Africa, reflecting the debate of the issue in ICPD, is in preparation.

62. The Population Activities Unit of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) is engaged in its own research and in the initiation and coordination of research in the region as well as in the dissemination of data and information in the field of international migration. Since 1992, the International Migration Bulletin, covering up-to-date information on international migration trends, legislative changes and the results of conferences and seminars, has been published twice a year. The Economic Survey for Europe in 1994-1995 contained a chapter on "International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States" prepared by the Population Activities Unit. Other publications prepared or in preparation by the Unit include International Migration: Regional Processes and Responses containing a collection of papers dealing with world-wide migration issues; International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe containing 11 country studies; and Transit Migration in Central Europe, a collection of papers. In addition, a series of in-depth international migration surveys has been carried out in Lithuania, Poland and the Ukraine in 1994-1995 to study the causes, consequences and modalities of international migration in countries in transition.

63. Most activities of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) regarding international migration are undertaken by the Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE) which carries out research, provides technical assistance, organizes seminars and offers training. CELADE maintains a database on international migrants as enumerated by the population censuses of Latin American and Caribbean countries. CELADE fosters the exchange of such information between sending and receiving countries. ECLAC expects to hold in 1996 a seminar on international migration whose goal would be to "assess the magnitude, the modalities, the determinants and consequences of international migrations within the context of the political and socio-economic realities of those countries most affected by this phenomenon" as stipulated in the Draft Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development for Latin America and the Caribbean. The seminar will be preceded by subregional meetings to ensure that all experiences are adequately reflected.

64. Decision 1995/206 on "Regional cooperation", which was adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its organizational session held in New York from 7 to 10 February 1995, endorsed the joint recommendation made by the regional Executive Secretaries to select the subject "The impact of international migration on countries of destination and countries of origin" for interregional cooperation in social development. The proposal made involves carrying out research and related activities on the selected subject over a period of several years. Further information on the subject will be provided in the Secretary General's report on regional cooperation which will be before the 1995 session of the Council.

C. Related United Nations organs and programmes

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

65. UNHCR's mandate is to provide international protection and assistance to refugees and to seek solutions to the problems of refugees. The latter responsibility includes monitoring the well-being of returnees, that is, former refugees who have repatriated voluntarily, especially in regard to guarantees obtained on their behalf prior to their repatriation. Thus, UNHCR cooperates with other agencies in the promotion and implementation of rehabilitation programmes for returnee communities. UNHCR has also been requested by the Secretary-General or a competent principal organ of the United Nations to assist, in specific cases, internally displaced persons who find themselves in refugee-like situations. UNHCR attaches great importance to the need to distinguish clearly between population movements of a refugee nature and those of an economic nature. Given its mandate, UNHCR plans, develops and administers a variety of projects and programmes to ensure refugee protection and assistance. The Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, ECOSOC and the General Assembly are the main intergovernmental fora to which UNHCR reports and where issues related to refugees and other types of involuntary migrants are discussed on a regular basis. In addition, UNHCR organizes, as necessary, special intergovernmental conferences to discuss refugee issues at the regional and subregional levels. The most recent initiative in this regard is the convening of a conference on refugees, returnees and displaced persons and related migratory movements in the Commonwealth of Independent States and relevant neighbouring States.

United Nations Conference for
Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

66. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) includes movement of natural persons as a mode of supply of services. In this context, UNCTAD's Standing Committee on Developing Services Sectors, at its second session in July 1994, recognized the temporary movement of natural persons as an important mode through which developing countries can participate in international trade in services and requested UNCTAD to focus its analysis on the temporary movements of persons, identifying barriers to the trade in services associated with regulations affecting such movement. UNCTAD has prepared a database on measures affecting trade in services with a view to enhancing the service exports of developing countries. UNCTAD, in collaboration with the International Organization for Migration, has also carried out a study on the effects of foreign direct investment, trade and development aid on international migration.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

67. In 1990, the Governing Council of UNDP recognized that "relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development are part of the same continuum" and endorsed strategies for strengthening "relief-to-development linkages" (decision 90/22). In response, UNDP established the Humanitarian Programmes Support Unit to assist in integrating all emergency-related activities into the UNDP's regular operations. UNDP has played a key role in assisting countries experiencing crisis situations to move from relief to development. Examples of the activities of UNDP in this area include the Development Programme for the Displaced, Refugee and Returnee Population in Central America; the Somalia Rehabilitation Programme; and the Cambodian Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programme. In addition, UNDP has sponsored the gathering of information and research on international migration to strengthen the understanding of the interrelations between international migration and development. Thus, UNDP has collaborated with the ILO in producing studies such as To the Gulf and Back: Studies on the Economic Impact of Asian Labour Migration or The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe. Through its country programmes, UNDP has provided support to Governments that need to take international migration into account in planning development. UNDP has supported a programme on the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) which permits former nationals to return to their countries of origin on a short-term basis to provide needed expertise (as requested) to a variety of institutions (governmental, non-governmental or private). Lastly, in collaboration with IOM and ECLAC, UNDP has worked towards the incorporation of international migration issues in the economic integration plans of MERCOSUR.

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

68. According to its mandate, UNFPA provides sustained and systematic assistance to developing countries in dealing with their population problems; promotes awareness about the implications of population problems; and plays a leading role in the United Nations system in promoting population programmes. The Fund has promoted research on the relation between international migration and development by financing projects and meetings. In 1991, UNFPA organized with ECE an informal expert group meeting on international migration that led to the

publication of International Migration: Regional Processes and Responses. Currently, UNFPA is funding projects on international migration carried out by ECE, IOM and DESIPA. The project carried out by ECE aims to operationalize a continuous informal system for the rapid collection and dissemination of data on East-West migration flows and to study the causes and consequences of emigration from countries in transition. The project implemented by IOM focuses on the analysis of emigration dynamics from developing countries. That carried out by DESIPA involves the preparation of a compendium of migration policies to assist in the dissemination of migration information and the exchange of government experiences. UNFPA expects to continue funding activities related to the social, economic and demographic aspects of international migration and development.

D. Specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies

International Labour Organization (ILO)

69. The ILO is the only United Nations organization mandated to promote migrant policy and address the rights of migrant workers. It has adopted two international conventions regarding the rights of migrant workers, namely, the ILO Convention concerning Migration for Employment (Revised) 1949 (No. 97) and the ILO Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975 (No. 143),[54] both of which are in force. Under its programme on international migration for employment, the ILO has organized research on a variety of aspects of international labour migration, research that has generally been carried out in collaboration with other institutions or with researchers from sending and receiving countries. Dissemination of research findings has been possible through the publication of books and of ILO working papers. Between 1982 and 1994, 10 books and 72 working papers on different topics had been issued. The ILO has also been active in promoting the exchange of information on labour migration policies and practices among countries involved in labour migration. Seminars, workshops and different types of meetings have been used for that purpose. Issues addressed recently by the ILO include the impact that economic reform in Central and Eastern European countries has had on international labour migration; information networking in Asia; and the development of an action programme to increase employment in Northern African countries and thus reduce migration pressures in that region. Thus, as a result of a conference on migration in transition countries held in Warsaw, Poland, in April 1995, the ILO is involved in assisting those countries in the harmonization of their migration policies. In Asia, the ILO collaborated with OECD and the Government of Japan in convening a conference on "Migration and the labour market in Asia in the year 2000" which was held in Tokyo, Japan in January 1995 and contributed to an exchange of views on labour migration in the Asia and Pacific Region. Thus, the ILO's current work programme stresses the role of migrants within the global economy and their rights as workers. Studies are being conducted to develop strategies that promote efficiency and equity in the global economy through international migration. Under an interdepartmental project, efforts are being made to improve data on stocks and flows of migrants; to develop services for migrant workers; and to formulate legislation and the necessary regulatory frameworks for sending and receiving countries. A tripartite conference to examine ILO's activities in the field of migrant workers is expected to be held early in 1997.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

70. Under the population component of its Environment and Population Education and Information for Human Development Project, UNESCO provides education and information that helps people understand the causes and impact of international migration, and thus promotes the development of constructive approaches to the subject. Through its UNITWIN Programme, UNESCO promotes the twinning of universities from developed and developing countries, and the creation of UNESCO chairs in developing countries that enhance working opportunities for university professors and thus prevent the brain drain. Under its Programme on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, UNESCO is undertaking the promotion of intercultural dialogue and respect for minorities. Lastly, through its Management of Social Transformations Programme, UNESCO is undertaking a research programme on the social and economic impact of migration in the Asia-Pacific region.

E. The World Bank group

The World Bank

71. The World Bank deals with issues raised by international migration primarily on a country-by-country basis. Regarding refugees, the Bank uses aid coordination, economic and sector work, policy dialogue, emergency recovery and other types of lending, and technical assistance to assist Governments of affected countries in planning and executing reintegration programmes for returning refugees. Assistance provided by the Bank is coordinated with UNHCR and other aid donors. Regarding migration issues in general, in 1994 the Development Committee of the Bank discussed the social, political and financial consequences of international migration for countries of origin and those of destination. It concluded that more policy-oriented research was needed as well as closer collaboration between the different international agencies concerned. The Bank has also done some work on the relation between trade policy and international migration, especially as regards the skill composition of migrants, and on the normative aspects of the migration policies of receiving countries.

F. Other intergovernmental organizations outside the United Nations system

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

72. International migration has long been a concern of OECD member States and such concern has been reflected in the activities of the organization. Under the direction of the Working Party on Migration, the Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs of OECD has conducted a series of research projects dealing with the various economic aspects of international migration; it has facilitated intergovernmental dialogue through various types of meetings and conferences; and it has instituted the continuous reporting system on international migration (SOPEMI) which allows the exchange and dissemination of timely statistical information on international migration to the OECD countries. Two major OECD conferences have dealt with issues related to international migration and development: one held in Rome in 1991 under the title "International Conference on Migration" and another held in Madrid in 1993 on "Migration and international cooperation: challenges for OECD countries". The proceedings of those conferences were published under the titles The Changing Course of International Migration and Migration and Development: New Partnerships

for Co-operation. In addition, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of OECD has requested studies on the linkages of aid, trade, employment and commercial policy, investment and other capital flows, the environment and migration. In response to this request, the Development Centre of OECD organized a Workshop on Development Strategy, Employment and Migration which took place in 1994.

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

73. IOM was established in 1951 to assist in the resettlement of displaced persons and refugees in Europe. As of December 1994, IOM was composed of 55 member and 41 observer States. IOM's Constitution, updated in 1989, is based on a number of fundamental principles, among which is the explicit recognition of the link between international migration and economic, social and cultural development. IOM's mandate is to help ensure the orderly flow of international migrants; to promote international cooperation on migration issues and in the search for practical solutions to migration problems by, among other things, providing a forum for discussion; and to contribute to international solidarity in bringing humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, be they refugees, externally or internally displaced persons, or other uprooted people. IOM's activities include operational programmes for the return and reintegration of skilled nationals from developing countries; the transfer over the medium or long term of highly skilled manpower to developing countries; and the dissemination of reliable information on migration opportunities and restrictions to would-be migrants in countries of origin. IOM also carries out technical cooperation activities to help strengthen governmental capacities in the migration field as well as research and forum activities. The latter include a UNFPA-funded project on the causes and consequences of international migration in selected developing regions; a migration information project focusing on actual and potential East-West migration in Europe; international conferences on specific topics (migration and development was treated in 1992); and informal intergovernmental meetings on current or emerging concerns (e.g. trafficking). IOM commissions studies on various migration topics, the most recent of which is on trade in services and the movement of natural persons, and publishes, inter alia, an academic quarterly entitled International Migration.

Notes

[1]This chapter largely draws upon work on the monitoring of levels, trends and policies on international migration carried out by the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information for Policy Analysis. Particular mention should be made of World Population Monitoring, 1993 (United Nations publication, forthcoming); Population Distribution and Migration: Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18-22 January 1993 (United Nations publication, forthcoming); and "Concise report on monitoring of world population trends and policies: report of the Secretary-General" (E/CN.9/1995/2, 17 January 1995).

[2]The full set of market-economy countries in Europe consists of Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The main labour-importing countries in that group were Belgium, France, Germany (Western), Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Sweden.

[3]Based on data in Trends in the Total Migrant Stock, 1994, database maintained by the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the United Nations Secretariat.

[4]Based on data from U.S. Department of Justice, 1989 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (1990, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office), p. 67.

[5]Based on data in Trends in the Total Migrant Stock, 1994, database maintained by the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the United Nations Secretariat.

[6]See H. Zlotnik, "International migration: causes and effects", in Beyond the Numbers, Laurie Ann Mazur, ed. (Washington, D.C., Island Press, 1994), pp. 362-363.

[7]See H. Zlotnik, "South-to-North migration since 1960: the view from the North", Population Bulletin of the United Nations, No. 31/32 (United Nations publication E.91.XIII.18), pp. 30-34.

[8]Inter-governmental Consultations Secretariat, "Asylum applications in participating States, 1983-1994" (Geneva, 1995), mimeo.

[9]See A. Vichnevski and J. Zayontchkovkaia, "L'émigration de l'ex-Union Soviétique: premices et inconnues", Revue européenne des migrations internationales (Poitiers, France), vol. 7, No. 3 (1991), pp. 5-30.

[10]See "Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees", Official Records of the General Assembly, Forth-ninth Session, Supplement No. 2 (A/49/12).

[11]See Peter Stalker, The Work of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1994).

[12]See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Continuous Reporting System on Migration: SOPEMI 1989; SOPEMI 1990; and Trends in International Migration (Paris, 1990, 1991 and 1992, respectively).

[13]See World Population Trends, Population and Development Interrelations and Population Policies: 1993 Monitoring Report, vol. I, Population Trends (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.10), p. 228.

[14]See World Population Trends, Population and Development Interrelations and Population Policies: 1983 Monitoring Report, vol. I, op. cit., p. 227.

[15]See J. Balán, "The role of migration policies and social networks in the development of a migration system in the Southern Cone", in International Migration Systems: A Global Approach, M. M. Kritz, L. L. Lim and H. Zlotnik, eds. (Oxford, England, Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 122.

[16]See United States, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1993 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1994), p. 32.

[17]See F. Prieto, "Acuerdo multilateral para el comercio de servicios", in La Ronda Uruguay y el Desarrollo de América Latina, P. Leiva, ed. (Santiago de Chile, Centro Latinoamericano de Economía y Política Internacional, 1994), pp. 295-313; The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and Related Instruments, (Geneva, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1993).

[21]See M. M. Kritz and F. Caces, "Science and technology transfers and migration flows", in International Migration Systems: A Global Approach, M. M. Kritz, L. L. Lim and H. Zlotnik, eds. (Oxford, United Kingdom, Clarendon Press, 1992); and L. Cormode, "Japanese foreign direct investment and the circulation of personnel from Japan to Canada", in Population Migration and the Changing World Order, W. T. S. Gould and A. M. Findlay, eds. (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1994).

[19]See "Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951", art. 1 A(2); and "Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1967", art. 1, para. 2, in United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 189, No. 2545, p. 137; and vol. 606, No. 8791, p. 267.

[20]See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge of Protection (New York and London, Penguin Books, 1993).

[21]See "Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (1 July 1990-30 June 1991)", Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 13 (A/46/13).

[22]See World Population Monitoring, 1993 (United Nations publication, forthcoming).

[23]See World Population Monitoring 1991, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.92.XIII.2), p. 191; and World Population Monitoring 1993, op. cit.

[24]See World Population Monitoring, 1993, op. cit.

[25]See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1993, op. cit.

[26]See World Population Monitoring, 1993, op. cit.

[27]See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1993, op. cit.

[28]J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro, "Migration, employment, and development: a two-sector analysis", American Economic Review (Nashville, Tennessee), vol. 60 (1970), pp. 126-142.

[29]See, for instance, P. L. Martin, The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1991).

[30]See R. Penninx, "A critical review of theory and practice: the case of Turkey", International Migration Review (Staten Island, New York), vol. 16 (1982), pp. 781-818; and D. G. Papademetriou and P. L. Martin, eds., The Unsettled Relationship: Labor Migration and Economic Development (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood, 1990).

[31]See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Migration, Growth and Development (Paris, 1978); and P. L. Martin, The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1991).

[32]See, for instance, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Trends in International Migration: Annual Report 1993 (Paris, 1994), pp. 157-177.

[33]See G. J. Borjas, Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy (New York, Basic Books, 1990).

[34]See F. D. Bean, B. L. Lowell and L. J. Taylor, "Undocumented Mexican immigrants and the earnings of workers in the United States", Demography (Washington, D.C.), vol. 23, No. 1 (1988); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Trends in International Migration: Annual Report 1993, op. cit.

[35]See G. J. Borjas, 1990, op. cit.

[36]See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1994). Trends in International Migration: Annual Report 1993, op. cit.

[37]See E. S. Rothman and T. J. Espenshade, "Fiscal impacts of immigration to the United States", Population Index (Princeton, N.J.), vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall, 1992), pp. 381-415.

[38]See G. Vernez and K. McCarthy, "The fiscal costs of immigration: analytical and policy issues", (Santa Monica, California, RAND, Center for Research on Immigration Policy, 1995).

[39]See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Trends in International Migration: Annual Report 1993, op. cit.; G. Vernez and K. McCarthy, "The fiscal costs of immigration: analytical and policy issues", op. cit.

[40]See International Organization for Migration, "Migration and development. Special issue", International Migration (Geneva), vol. 30, No. 3/4 (1992).

[41]See M. M. Kritz and F. Caces, 1992, op. cit.; and International Organization for Migration, 1992, op. cit.

[42]See S. S. Russell, "Migrant remittances and development", International Migration (Geneva), vol. 30, No. 3/4 (1992), pp. 267-288; S. S. Russell, "Migration impacts and the plurality of responses in developing countries", paper presented at the Seminar on Migrations and Multiculturalism: Africa, Europe and the Americas, 21-22 April 1995, New York.

[43]See F. Arnold, "The contribution of remittances to economic and social development", in International Migration Systems: A Global Approach, M. M. Kritz, L. L. Lim and H. Zlotnik, eds. (Oxford, United Kingdom, Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 205-220.

[44]See S. S. Russell, 1995, op. cit.

[45]See United Nations Secretariat, "Population distribution and migration: the emerging issues", in Population Distribution and Migration. Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18-22 January 1993 (United Nations publication, forthcoming).

[46]See U. S. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Unauthorized Migration: An Economic Development Response (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990).

[47]See International Organization for Migration, 1994, op. cit.

[48]See World Economic Survey, 1992 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E. 92.II.C.1).

[49]See S. Castles and M. J. Miller, The Age of Migration (New York, Guilford, 1993).

[50]See International Migration Policies and Programmes: A World Survey (United Nations publications, Sales No. E.82.XIII.4).

[51]See M. J. Piore, Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[52]See S. Castles and M. J. Miller, 1993, op. cit.

[53]Population and Development, vol. I, Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XIII.7), p. 51.

[54]See International Labour Conventions and Recommendations, 1919-1981 (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1982).

Table 1. Estimated migrant stock in selected regions of the world, 1975 and 1985

Region	Migrant stock[a] (millions)		Migrants as proportion of total population		Distribution of the migrant stock	Distribution of the total population
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1985	1985
World	84.6	105.5	2.1	2.2	100.0	100.0
Developed countries	38.3	47.9	3.5	4.1	45.4	24.1
Developing countries	46.3	57.6	1.6	1.6	54.6	75.9
Europe	19.5	23.1	4.1	4.7	21.9	15.7
Market economies	17.0	20.7	5.0	5.9	19.7	7.3
Transition economies	2.5	2.4	0.7	0.6	2.2	8.4
Traditional countries of immigration	18.2	24.1	7.1	8.5	22.8	5.8
Australia	2.7	3.2	19.8	20.3	3.0	0.3
Canada	3.5	3.9	15.5	15.5	3.7	0.6
New Zealand	0.5	0.5	15.8	15.1	0.5	0.1
United States	11.5	16.5	5.4	7.0	15.7	4.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.3	11.3	3.3	2.7	10.7	8.8
Northern Africa and Western Asia	7.4	13.4	4.2	5.7	12.7	4.8
Gulf Cooperation Council	1.9	5.8	19.9	34.2	5.5	0.4
Other Asia	23.3	27.0	1.0	1.0	25.6	56.5
Southern Asia	15.6	19.2	1.9	1.8	18.2	21.9
Eastern and South-eastern Asia[b]	7.7	7.8	0.5	0.5	7.4	34.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	5.7	6.5	1.8	1.6	6.1	8.2
Other Oceania	0.2	0.2	3.8	4.1	0.2	0.1

Source: Trends in the Total Migrant Stock, 1994, a database maintained by the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the United Nations Secretariat.

[a]The migrant stock of a country is defined as the number of persons born outside of that country. The migrant stock in a region is the sum of the migrant stock in each country or area comprised in that region.

[b]Includes Japan.

Table 2. Average annual number of immigrants to selected developed countries, and average annual net migration, by region of origin, 1960-1991

Countries of destination and region of origin	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1991
A. Average annual number of immigrants							
Canada and the United States[a]							
Total	371 811	540 924	581 063	758 523	915 244	830 160	680 058
Developed countries	243 161	303 965	208 199	153 364	133 090	125 854	134 086
Developing countries	128 650	236 959	372 864	605 159	782 155	704 306	545 972
Sub-Saharan Africa	1 900	4 105	10 094	15 817	17 506	20 942	16 191
Northern Africa and Western Asia	8 494	16 185	19 319	26 038	26 983	31 482	26 521
Southern Asia	2 753	11 208	29 048	36 188	56 632	71 530	64 553
East and South-eastern Asia	15 088	46 450	102 970	162 272	248 670	236 643	213 775
Latin America and the Caribbean	100 416	159 011	211 433	364 845	432 364	343 709	224 933
Australia and New Zealand							
Total	146 313	178 215	173 302	84 307	105 692	114 485	121 458
Developed countries	138 278	164 177	146 063	55 244	69 248	56 767	51 813
Developing countries	8 035	14 038	27 239	29 064	36 444	57 718	69 645
Sub-Saharan Africa	2 072	2 722	3 832	3 124	4 454	5 708	3 960
Northern Africa and Western Asia	2 171	4 792	9 087	7 461	2 625	6 217	5 701
Southern Asia	1 371	2 798	4 890	1 909	2 209	5 687	8 280
East and South-eastern Asia	2 205	3 039	4 853	12 624	25 436	35 909	47 759
Latin America and the Caribbean	216	687	4 577	3 946	1 721	4 197	3 945
Selected European countries[b]							
Total	729 153	1 100 497	1 297 442	912 018	842 868	1 229 489	--
Developed countries	655 598	874 469	935 176	577 898	549 873	890 435	--
Developing countries	73 555	226 028	362 266	334 121	292 996	339 053	--
Sub-Saharan Africa	13 287	37 688	50 998	42 254	37 368	51 644	--
Northern Africa and Western Asia	45 079	98 391	221 785	168 205	124 303	114 751	--
Southern Asia	4 234	35 758	25 995	35 430	36 916	45 344	--
East and South-eastern Asia	6 522	32 991	42 683	58 162	70 463	101 828	--
Latin America and the Caribbean	4 433	21 200	20 805	30 071	23 945	25 486	--
B. Average annual net migration							
Australia and New Zealand							
Total	123 105	133 826	129 453	51 748	77 011	103 865	115 408
Developed countries	115 771	121 124	103 670	24 022	42 016	47 305	46 493
Developing countries	7 334	12 702	25 783	27 726	34 995	56 560	68 915
Sub-Saharan Africa	1 906	2 337	3 401	2 852	4 146	5 548	3 865

Countries of destination and region of origin	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1991
Northern Africa and Western Asia	2 119	4 677	8 886	7 281	2 455	6 039	5 621
Southern Asia	1 206	2 558	4 673	1 793	2 106	5 607	8 235
East and South-eastern Asia	1 912	2 513	4 417	12 079	24 795	35 347	47 354
Latin America and the Caribbean	191	617	4 405	3 721	1 493	4 019	3 840
Selected European countries[b]							
Total	267 738	182 509	323 710	53 294	-9 757	459 442	--
Developed countries	214 575	88 565	146 857	-44 297	-38 830	303 315	--
Developing countries	53 164	93 944	176 852	97 591	29 073	156 127	--
Sub-Saharan Africa	9 710	-524	7 426	7 338	-1 445	25 659	--
Northern Africa and Western Asia	34 716	53 110	137 517	28 883	-25 477	38 614	--
Southern Asia	2 528	24 466	14 096	25 519	23 965	29 506	--
East and South-eastern Asia	3 883	9 972	11 855	18 986	23 245	51 041	--
Latin America and the Caribbean	2 327	6 921	5 958	16 864	8 785	11 308	--

Source: Adapted from H. Zlotnik, "International migration: causes and effects" in Beyond the Numbers, Laurie Ann Mazur, ed. (Washington, D.C., Island Press, 1994), pp. 362-363.

[a]The data relative to the United States have been adjusted to take account of the likely date of entry of undocumented migrants regularized under IRCA.

[b]Belgium, Germany (Western), the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Table 3. Trends in governmental perceptions regarding the level of immigration

(Percentage)

Year	Too low	Satis-factory	Too high	Total	Number of countries
1976	7.1	86.5	6.4	100.0	156
1978	8.3	86.6	5.1	100.0	158
1980	6.0	81.3	12.7	100.0	165
1983	6.6	74.4	19.0	100.0	168
1986	3.6	76.4	20.0	100.0	170
1989	3.5	75.9	20.6	100.0	170
1994	2.1	77.4	20.5	100.0	190

Source: Population Policy Data Bank maintained by the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis of the United Nations Secretariat.